5: Reyes and Teran--122 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 563

"The whites in the Oriente are almost entirely from the [GCB: Ecuadorian] altiplano and have come into the forest still searching, like their remote ancestors, the chimerical El Dorado. From Archidona to Macas, according to Sinclair and Wasson, there are not more than 600 whites, and these are largely concentrated in the latter settlement. Of the original Spanish colonists, there is clearly not a single descendent left."

20: Dyott--190
116, 142, 563

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"Johnston commented on the fact that Kuashu had evidences of quite a strong growth of hair on his chin. I had told him that, surprising as it might be, none of these forest dwellers ever grow beards. He therefore wanted some explanation for the phenomena exhibited by Kuashu's face.

In the sixteenth century, when a few Spanish settlements flourished in what is now called the Ecuadorean Oriente, the Indians resented the slavery imposed upon them by the Spanish invaders, and finally united in a combined effort to rid themselves of their common foe, who seemed to be endangering their existence. A wholesale revolt against the whites ensued, and several villages were completely annihilated. This, as I have already stated, was the fate that befell Sevilla de Oro, and the Spanish women living there were taken prisoners and carried off into the forest wilderness, where they became the mothers of subsequent Jivaro children. This infusion of Spanish blood shows itself in the bearded faces which are occasionally met with in this area."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969) 1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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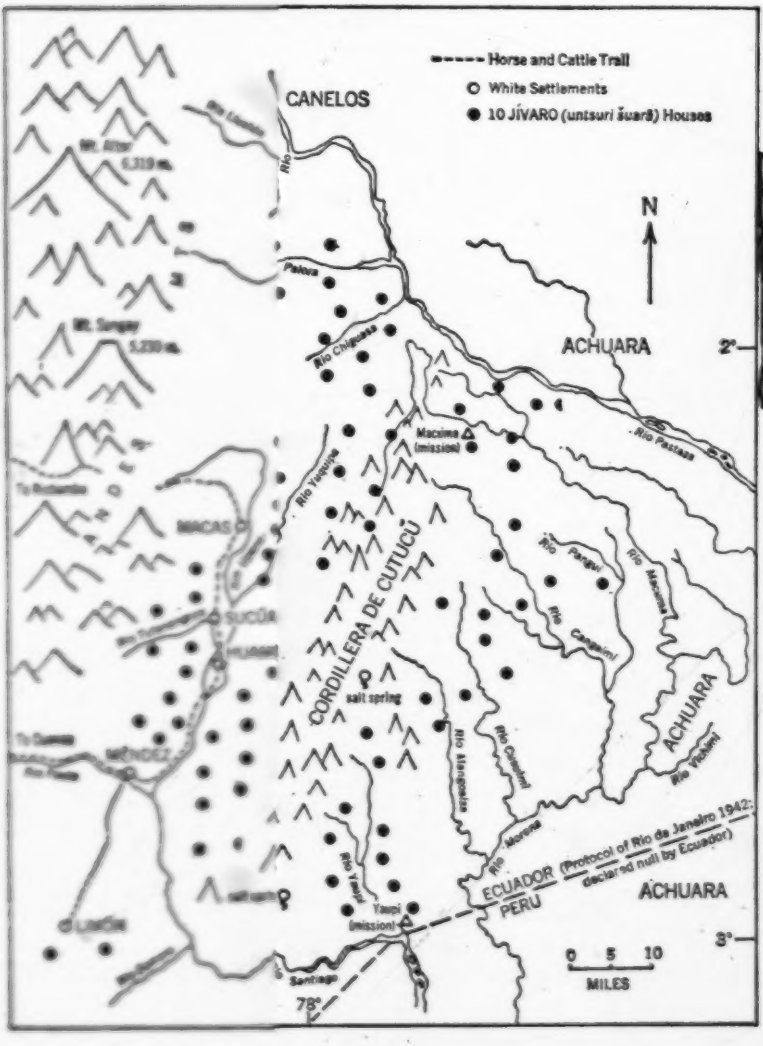

MAP 2

Distribution of the Jívaro, or *untsuri šuarā*, north of the Río Zamora in 1956–57

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

(approximately 400 meters altitude) in the east. Map 2 shows most of the region except for the southern extension along and beyond the Río Zamora. The tribal territory north of the Río Santiago is bisected by the rugged, jungle-clad Cordillera de Cutucú, which runs roughly north and south and reaches an altitude of more than 2,000 meters above sea level. There are settlements of Ecuadorian colonists in the Jívaro territory west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the Upano and Paute valleys and also southwest of the cordillera in the Zamora Valley, but the mountain range has acted as an effective barrier to white settlement in the lands inhabited by the eastern part of the tribe.

Most of the Jívaro dwelling west of the Cordillera de Cutucú and south of the Río Chiguasa region are in continuous first-hand contact with the frontier of Ecuadorian settlement and are here called the "frontier Jívaro."[11] Those beyond the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization—the object of this study—are mainly east of the Cutucú range and are sometimes referred to here as the "interior Jívaro," since the region is locally known, in Spanish, as "*adentro*."

The northern neighbors of the Jívaro are the Canelos (also locally known as the "Alama," "Quichua" [Quechua] or "Yumbo"), who speak a dialect of Inca. To the east dwell the Achuara Jivaroans, and to the south along the Río Santiago and Río Morona, the Huambisa Jivaroans.[12] Thus the Jívaro are bounded on the west by an Ecuadorian white or mestizo population, and on the other three sides by native tribes.

Jívaro-White Contacts

Prior to the Spanish Conquest, the Jívaro were bounded on the west by the Inca Empire, which had conquered all the

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Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jívaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jívaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jívaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jívaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jívaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempting to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions for Indian use. The Jívaro, in turn, wish to expand their own pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four hundred Jívaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

As of this writing, the last bridge is being constructed in a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez. This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will undoubtedly mean increased immigration of colonists from the province of Azuay.

Many members of the tribe seem convinced that the eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as the Achuara, that the white soldiers were about to initiate such a massacre. Indeed, once, while my family and I were staying in a very isolated Achuara neighborhood near the Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed five Jívaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most slender (mis)information, the Jívaro who accompanied us, together with our Achuara hosts, started planning to march on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility and unrest which recalls the conditions of the Jívaro revolt of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

An important aspect of the current situation is the difference between the concepts of land utilization held by the Jívaro and the whites. The Jívaro, with a free land tradition, have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land ownership. Besides this, the Jívaro do not have the tradition of solely subsisting on agriculture and livestock raising, but also depend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gathering. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, especially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white standards, although the Jívaro feel that, in fact, their lands are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jívaro

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believe that they lack adequate land, the whites feel that the Indians are not using all the territory at their disposal. This basic cultural difference makes successful communication and adjudication of disputes extremely difficult between the two groups. The Catholic Church, specifically the Salesian order, which has the responsibility for the missions in the Upano Valley, has generally chosen to side with the Indians, with the result that it has alienated a large portion of the white colonist population. Allegedly to show their displeasure, some of the whites are reported to be responsible for burning down a Salesian mission building at Sucúa in 1969.

The chief vehicle of Salesian support for the Jívaro is the Federation of Shuar Centers (*Federación Provincial de Centros Shuaros de Morona-Santiago*) founded in 1964 with the guidance of Padre Juan Shukta, and governed by Catholicized Jívaro.[1] The organization, aiming at representing the economic, political and cultural interests of the majority of Jívaro throughout the tribe, is attempting to encourage them to develop a secure economic base through cattle raising, creating pasture, and securing legal rights to their land. The Federation also tries to encourage ethnic pride through brief daily radio broadcasts transmitted in Jívaro from its new headquarters building in Sucúa. To this end, the native term, "Shuar" (*huarā*), has been adopted in preference to the formerly locally prevalent "Jíbaro," the latter term being felt to connote "savage."

A serious problem for the Jívaro is that almost their only spokesmen in the Ecuadorian power structure are the missionaries, since there has not been a branch of the government concerned specifically with the protection of the rights of the forest Indians. Such a governmental agency would not necessarily right the injustices to the Indians (witness the many historic failures of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Af-